

places as Kosovo, Sierra Leone, and Sudan that we have not learned the lessons of the past.

The ongoing campaign of violence and hate perpetrated by Slobodan Milosevic and his thugs against the Kosovar Albanians is but the latest example of the campaigns of terror carried out against innocent civilians simply because of who they are. These people are not combatants and they have committed no crimes—they are simply ethnic Albanians who wish to live in peace in their homes in Kosovo. But, because they are ethnic Albanians, they have been murdered or driven out, their possessions have been looted, and their homes have been burned. Many more are hiding in the mountains of Kosovo, caught in a dangerous limbo, afraid to try to flee across the border to safety and unable to go home.

On April 13, we marked Yom Hashoah, the annual remembrance of the 6 million Jews who were exterminated by Nazi Germany. People around the world gathered to light candles and read the names of those who died. Today, let us take a moment to remember the victims of the 1915–1923 Armenian genocide, and all the other innocent people who have died in the course of human history at the hands of people who hated them simply for who they were. ●

#### HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE AT TEMPLE BETH AMI

● Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I call to the attention of my colleagues the recent Community-Wide Memorial Observance of Yom HaShoah V'Hagvurah held at Temple Beth Ami in Rockville, Maryland. I had the privilege of participating in this Holocaust remembrance ceremony sponsored by the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington. I commend Temple Beth Ami for hosting this annual event and the Jewish Community Council for providing the community in Maryland and the Washington, D.C. area with so many valuable services year-round.

The Holocaust represents the most tragic human chapter of the 20th century when six million Jews perished as the result of a systematic and deliberate policy of annihilation. Holocaust remembrance is an effort to pay homage to the victims and educate the public about the painful lessons of this horrible tragedy.

As my colleagues are aware, this month marks the 54th year since the beginning of the liberation of the Nazi death camps in Europe and the 56th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The occasion also is an opportunity to remember the plight of the passengers aboard the S.S. *St. Louis* who sought to rebuild their shattered lives outside Europe. Most of the 937 men, women and children who fled Germany on the *St. Louis* on May 13, 1939 were seeking refuge from Nazi persecution but were turned back months before the outbreak of World War II.

In his moving remarks at Temple Beth Ami, Benjamin Meed, the President of the American Gathering of Holocaust Survivors and a survivor himself of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, spoke eloquently before this assembly of the importance of overcoming indifference to genocide. Ben Meed has dedicated himself to working hard along with many other survivors to ensure that the memory of millions is still with us, and I believe that the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is a fitting and exceptional tribute to his efforts. In his words, the Holocaust Museum is "the culmination of our devotion to Remembrance."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Benjamin Meed's remarks at Temple Beth Ami be entered into the RECORD at this point.

#### REMARKS BY BENJAMIN MEED

It is a special honor to be among such distinguished colleagues, especially Rabbi Jack Luxemburg, vice chairman of the Washington Jewish Community Council and the Rabbi here at Temple Beth Ami; and Manny (Emmanuel) Mandel, chairman of the Jewish Community Council's Holocaust Remembrance Committee.

In this lovely new sanctuary that in itself demonstrates the vibrancy of the Jewish community in our nation's capital, we unite with Jewish people everywhere to remember those who were robbed and murdered by the German Nazis and their collaborators—only because they were born as Jews.

Tonight, as we come together, we remember the people, places and events that shaped our memories: Memories of our "childhood," of our parents and siblings, of the world which is now so far away. We remember the laughter of children at play, the murmur of prayers at Shul, the warm love of our family gathered for Shabbos meals. That world was shattered by the German Nazis' war against the Jews, while the world of bystanders around us was indifferent.

Our memories are full of sorrow. Our dreams are not dreams, but nightmares of final separation from those we loved. Parading before us, when we sleep, are the experiences we endured—the endless years of ghettos, labor camps, death camps, hiding places where betrayal was always imminent; the forests and caves of the partisans where life was always on the line. And no matter where we were, we were always hungry.

Each of us has our own story. Fifty-five years ago, during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, I was in Krasinski Square, just outside of the walls of the Ghetto. I usually spent my days in the zoo because I knew that the animals could not denounce me to the German Nazis or to their collaborators. To the animals, I was just another human being. But on this Sunday, as an "Aryan" member of the Polish community, I went to church together with the Poles.

As we came out of church into the Square, I heard the thunder of guns and the explosion of grenades and I could see that the Jewish Ghetto was on fire. It may have been a warm Spring day, but I stood frozen. In front of us in the Square, a carousel was turning around and around. The music attracted my Polish neighbors and their children. I watched in disbelief as they flocked to the merry-go-round, indifferent to the tragedy so nearby. With every cry for help from my Jewish people, tears swelled in my eyes. But the faces of those around me showed no concern, no compassion, not even any interest.

The memory of this scene haunts and engages me. How was it possible for these peo-

ple to act "normally" while Jews, their neighbors for hundreds of years, burned and died inside the Ghetto walls? But they were not the only ones to ignore our plight. Indeed, the entire world stood by. No doors were opened, no policies were changed to make rescue possible. Why? The question cries out for an answer across the decades.

If only there had been a State of Israel sixty years ago, how different this story could have been.

Tonight, we especially remember the passengers on the S.S. *St. Louis*—more than nine hundred men, women and children. Robbed of their possessions, stunned and hurt during Kristallnacht, and threatened with their lives, many of them were forced to sign agreements never to return to Germany. Out on the high seas, powerless to affect their outcome, these nine hundred people floated between political infighting and immigration quarrels, both in Cuba and the United States. Their fates were in the hands of others whom they did not know and with whom they had no influence. Finally accepted by four European nations, many of these passengers were swept into "the Final Solution" when Western Europe fell to Nazi Germany. Why were these nine hundred denied entry into this country? Why was this tragedy allowed to happen?

If only there had been a State of Israel sixty years ago!

This year our commemoration falls within the anniversaries of the discovery of Buchenwald concentration camp. On April 11, the troops of the United States 6th Armored Division rolled into the camp, just one mile outside Weimer, the birthplace of German democracy. They were followed by the 80th Infantry Division on April 12, just 54 years ago tonight. These were war-weary, war-hardened soldiers, but none of their fierce combat had prepared them for Buchenwald—nor for the hundreds of other such camps that American and Allied soldiers came across in their march to end the war in Europe.

We will always be grateful to these soldiers for their kindness and generosity, and we will always remember those young soldiers who sacrificed their lives to bring us liberty.

Many American GIs who saw the camps join with us in declaring that genocide must not be allowed to happen again. But despite the echoes from the Holocaust, it has—in Cambodia, in Rwanda, in Bosnia, and now in Kosovo.

We remember and our hearts go out to those who are caught in the web of destruction.

For many years, we survivors were alone in our memories. We spoke among ourselves about the Holocaust, because no one else wanted to hear our stories. Still, we believed that the world must be told—must come to understand the significance of our experiences.

Slowly, acceptance of our memories began—at first, only by our fellow Jews, who realized that what we had witnessed was vitally important to them. In time, other people began to understand the meaning and consequences of our experiences. They listened. We survivors were no longer silent presences. We became the bearers of tales—at once painful and precious.

We survivors are now publicly bearing witness. We are offering challenges to the indifference of Western governments, to the complicity of the Church, to the anti-Semitism of Christianity, and to the evil of the perpetrators, collaborators and—not the least—to the bystanders. The movement to remember and to record is being led by survivors who accept the burden that history placed upon us.

But whatever we know now, there is still so much that we do not know, we cannot

know. There were the Six Million whose voices were silenced forever. We the few who survived must speak about them even though we cannot truly speak for them.

Although living in almost every state of this Union and following many professions, survivors are united by a common memory. We walk the byways of this great country, appreciative of its blessings of freedom and possibilities. We try to express our gratitude for life by the quality of our lives, offering hope and solace, and teaching the mystery of starting anew.

And now, over fifty years later, the world has come to Remember with us. In Germany, France, Austria, and England; in Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina; in Australia and New Zealand, as well as Canada, in Israel, and in our own beloved country, Yom Hashoah is on the calendar and commemorations are held in halls of honor. This is how memory is preserved—by determined, directed, dedication to remembering—by telling and retelling the stories of the holocaust.

You who live in this city are privileged to have the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum—the culmination of our devotion to Remembrance—to visit at your convenience. This extraordinary institution, the largest Holocaust Museum outside of Yad Vashem, has had more than twelve million visitors in just five years. People come from near and far, both within the United States and from around the world. This Museum represents the fulfillment of our pledge and more. It contains many documents and artifacts that testify about our experiences as well as photographs and notes from our loved ones. But more—it is an expression of the hope of every survivor—that no one anywhere in the world will ever have to endure what we did.

And what lessons did we derive from these horrible experiences? The most important lesson is obvious—it can happen again, the impossible is possible again. Ethnic cleansing, genocide, is happening as I speak. It can happen to any one or any group of people. *The slaughter in Kosovo and in other places must be brought to an end.*

Should there be another Holocaust, it may be on a cosmic scale. How can we prevent it? All of us must remain vigilant—always aware, always on guard against those who are determined to destroy innocent human life for no other reason than birthright.

Just as we survivors have dedicated ourselves to preserving memory and bearing witness, we are now equally determined to make certain, in the little time we have left, that all survivors live out their years in security and dignity. Most of us have accomplished a great deal, but there are those who have been less fortunate. As you know, some live in distressing circumstances. Many are forsaken, afflicted by illness, and, perhaps worst of all, they carry the nightmares of the Holocaust with them.

Although the government of Germany has acknowledged to some degree its responsibility for the robbery and murder of our people, the greatest in history, it has not fully assumed its obligations. Recently, some German companies admitted their use of Jewish slave labor during the Holocaust. The government and these companies have offered what they call reparations. But how can they ever provide compensation for our stolen real property, savings accounts, art, jewelry, and personal belongings—the gold in our teeth, the use of our skills and bodies, the pain and suffering inflicted upon each and every one of us? How can there ever be enough money to pay for the wrongful imprisonment, torture, starvation and murder of six million Jews—in their homes, on the streets, in fields and forests, in the gas chambers? Is there a way that they can restore our families, our youth, our health, our sense of personal security? Absolutely not!

Germany wants to project a new image to the world, but it cannot be allowed to buy the honor it deserted during the Holocaust. It must account for the horrible atrocities of its past. We must not permit Germany to shift the focus away from its moral and financial responsibility for the slaughter of our people, acts for which there is no statute of limitations. Germany will be eternally responsible for the murder of the Six Million.

At the least, Germany must provide appropriate care for the survivors of their atrocities who need help. More than anything, this is a moral issue. It is not welfare. It is not a business deal. It is a "debt of honor," as Chancellor Adenauer said many years ago.

Maybe the claims of Holocaust survivors are unprecedented; but so was the robbery and murder. We will not stop until Germany and all the other nations who participated in the extermination process fulfill their obligations. It is the right thing to do—for them and for us.

Let us Remember!  
Thank you. •

#### MEASURE READ THE FIRST TIME—S.J. RES. 22

Mr. MCCAIN. I understand S.J. Res. 22 introduced earlier by Senator JEFFORDS for himself and others is at the desk, and I ask that it be read the first time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 22) to reauthorize and modify conditions for the consent of Congress to the Northeast Interstate Dairy Compact, and to grant the consent of Congress to the Southern Dairy Compact.

Mr. MCCAIN. I now ask for its second reading and object to my own request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

#### ORDERS FOR WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 1999

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 10:30 a.m. on Wednesday, April 28. I further ask that on Wednesday, immediately following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed to have expired, and the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day. I also ask that at 10:30 a.m. the Senate begin a period of morning business until 12 noon with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes with the following exceptions: Senator LOTT, or his designee, 30 minutes; Senator DURBIN, 30 minutes; and Senator KERRY for 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### PROGRAM

Mr. MCCAIN. For the information of all Senators, the Senate will convene at 10:30 a.m. and be in a period of morning business until 12 noon. Following morning business, the Senate will im-

mediately resume debate on the Y2K legislation. I encourage my colleagues to come to the floor to debate this important issue. Further, the Senate may consider any other legislative or executive items cleared for action during today's session of the Senate.

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MCCAIN. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order following the remarks of the Senator from Louisiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### LITTLETON

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I am happy to note the overwhelming vote that just occurred to try, in some small way, to express the feeling of this body about the recent tragedy in Littleton, CO. It is a first step of perhaps many that will be taken to properly address this tragedy.

The massacre that occurred makes us all want to jump to action, because we are action-oriented individuals and an action-oriented body. That is why we are here—to do things. I think the tendency in a situation like this is to want to jump out and do things so we can prevent another tragedy in the future. The problem is, with that approach, this situation has actually raised more questions than it has provided answers.

I will share with Members some of the leading news articles this week. "Why?" Newsweek asks. "Why?" U.S. News & World Report asks. Again, a very important question that should be answered.

Time Magazine asked, What can schools do? Where were the parents?

These are all very, very important questions that should be answered.

It is important at this time in the Senate and in the House and within the leadership of this country to perhaps do a little bit more listening than talking, so we can help find answers as to why this tragedy happened in order to attempt to prevent it from happening in the future. This is not the first such tragedy. This is, unfortunately, a long line of recent incidents.

It may prompt some parents or some lawmakers to say ban all video games and movies. It could prompt some people to say ban all guns and bomb-making equipment everywhere in every instance. It could prompt others to either call for severe censure of the Internet or the abolition of the Internet.

I suggest, as respectfully as possible, that now may not be the time to push through laws or initiatives, either at the Federal or State level, before we can get some answers to these very troubling questions.

I am not suggesting that nothing be done—absolutely the opposite, that we